

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01

X

SAM-01 ACDA-10 /080 W

----- 104258

R 062117Z AUG 75

a0243.tFM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1986

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 20390

E.O.11652:N/A

TAGS:PFOR,FR,PINT

SUBJECT:FIGARO TEXT OF RAYMOND ARON

1.BECAUSE OF HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SECRETARY AND THE GREAT INFLUENCE WHICH HE HAS OVER A WIDE SPECTRUM OF FRENCH OPINION,WE HEREBY TRANSMIT THE TEXT OF A LE FIGARO FRONT PAGE COLUMN OF JULY 30,1975 BY RAYMOND ARON.

2.BEGIN TEXT:"THE DIPLOMATS' FAIR: THE CSCE WILL STAND ALONE IN HISTORY:NEVER DID A CONFERENCE LAST FOR SO LONG AND GATHER SO MANY DIPLOMATS TO ATTAIN SO DERISORY A RESULT. THE FACT IS THAT THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS OF THE WEST IN THE END GRANTED LEONID BREZHNEV THE FAVOR HE SO EAGERLY DESIRED OF THE SOLEMN SIGNING OF A TEXT THAT DOES NOT HAVE TREATY VALUE. THIS CONCESSION OR SURRENDER HAS ONLY SYMBOLIC VALUE. YET, IF A REAL STATESMAN COULD STILL BE FOUND IN THE U.S. OR IN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF THE WEST, THE COMEDY WOULD NEVER HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

3.THE SOVIETS ARE FOND OF COMMUNIQUE DRAFTED AT THE END OF A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF A STATE OR OF A PARTY.IT EVEN HAPPENS THAT THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR RECEIVES MARCHAIS AND POMPIDOU IN TURN, ONE THREE WEEKS AFTER THE OTHER.
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WITH THE FORMER, HE SIGNS A DECLARATION IN THE USUAL IDEOLOGICAL STYLE:CLASS STRUGGLE OR FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM; WITH THE LATTER, HE SIGNS THE CONVENTIONAL DECLARATION CONCERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN COUNTRIES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL REGIMES, AND NON-INTERFERENCE WITH THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. THE HELSINKI TEXT BELONGS TO THE SAME KIND OF VERBALISM: THE NUMBER OF SIGNATURES AND THE JULY 30 CEREMONY GIVE IT AN INCREASED SIGNIFICANCE.

4.BY PROCLAIMING FRONTIERS INVIOABLE WHILE RECALLING THAT THEY CAN BE PEACEFULLY REVISED. THE FINAL TEXT OF THE CONFERENCE HARDLY MODIFIES THE ACTUAL SITUATION OF THE OLD CONTINENT. IT HAS BEEN AGES SINCE ANYBODY TOOK SERIOUSLY---IF EVER---THE FORMULA OF ROLL BACK.

5.THE PARTITION OF THE OLD CONTINENT INTO TWO ZONES OR BLOCS,SUCH AS IT WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1945 BY THE MOVEMENT OF ARMIES AND THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS SIGNED DURING THE HOSTILITIES' HAS LONG SINCE BEEN ACCEPTED AS A FACT. WHAT THE WESTERN NATIONS UP TO NOW REFUSED WAS TO RATIFY IT MORALLY. IN HELSINKI, THEY SEEM TO BE RESIGNED TO DO SO.

6.I EXPRESS MYSELF CAUTIOUSLY BECAUSE PRESIDENT FORD, UPSET BY THE CRITICISMS FROM THE AMERICAN PRESS, REMEMBERED ON THE EVE OF HIS DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION SWALLOWED THE BALTIC STATES, IN THE TIME OF THE HITLER-STALIN ALLIANCE AND THAT THE UNITED STATES, FAITHFUL AS EVERYONE KNOWS TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE ILLEGITIMACY OF CONQUESTS BY FORCE, NEVER RECOGNIZED THESE ANNEXATIONS. THIS MAKES THINGS EVEN CLEARER: THE U.S. DECLARES INVIOABLE THE FRONTIERS WHICH IT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE.

7.IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS MORAL ACCEPTANCE, THE WEST, IN THE THIRD 'BASKET', CALLED FOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN MATTERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND INFORMATION. IT TAKES A LOT OF OPTIMISM OR SIMPLICITY TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROMISES---SOME PRECISE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

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INSIGNIFICANT, THE OTHERS VAGUE---WILL MODIFY THE METHODS OF THE MOSCOW BUREAUCRACY TOWARD FOREIGNERS OR SOVIET CITIZENS.AS FOR THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE SECURITY 'BASKET',THEY CAN BE SUMMED UP IN A FEW WORDS AS FOLLOWS: UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, EACH OF THE TWO BLOCS WILL INFORM THE OTHER OF TROOP MOVEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH MANEUVERS.

8.BUT ANY BUILD-UP IN FORCES OR MATERIAL EVIDENTLY REMAINS A SECRET OF STATE.IF WE PUT YUGOSLAVIA OR THE

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 SAJ-01

SAM-01 ACDA-10 /080 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1987

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FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IN THE PLACE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, THIS TEXT WOULD HAVE MADE IT AN OBLIGATION FOR THE STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT TO ANNOUNCE IN ADVANCE THAT THEY WERE ORGANIZING MANEUVERS, BUT OBVIOUSLY NOT THAT THEY WERE PLANNING TO FIGHT THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN PRAGUE WITH ARMS. NOW WE ARE REASSURED.

9. I DO NOT SUSPECT THE FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT OF PREPARING AN INVASION OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC OR OF WESTERN EUROPE. THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO SO FAR SUITS THE BREZHNEV CREW ALL RIGHT. WHEN THE CROPS ARE BAD IN THE USSR, THE LATTER PURCHASES A MILLION TONS OF WHEAT IN THE U.S. THE WESTERN STATES SQUABBLE AMONG THEMSELVES OVER THE BENEFITS FROM CONTRACTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE LATTER CHEAPLY GETS THE BEST OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. THE WESTERN NATIONS GO AS FAR AS GRANTING IT CREDITS WITH LOW INTEREST RATES REGARDLESS OF THE FACT THAT IT IS ONE OF THE OIL EXPORTERS AND THUS BENEFITS FROM THE RISE IN PRICE FOR OIL PRODUCTS.

10. THESE ECONOMIC EXCHANGES, DESPITE ALL ILLUSIONS, DO NOT PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION EITHER FROM TIGHTENING IDEOLOGICAL CONTROLS---'NO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FOR IDEOLOGIES'---OR FROM INCREASING ITS ARMED FORCES, OR
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FROM ENCOURAGING THE MILITANT ACTION OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY.

11. PRESIDENT FORD REMEMBERED THE BALTIC STATES; HENRY KISSINGER, FOR ONE, IS WORRIED ABOUT THE EVENTS IN PORTUGAL WHICH HE DEEMS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE. THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER PROMISED THAT ANY COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NOT TRY TO SEIZE POWER IF AN

OCCASION OCCURRED. THE SECRETARY OF STATE RECOMMENDED TO PRESIDENT FORD NOT TO RECEIVE SOLZHENITSYN---WHICH WON HIM JUSTIFIED CRITICISMS FROM THE PRESS. LEONID BREZHNEV HAS NEVER HESITATED TO RECEIVE MARCHAIS OR CUNAH; KISSINGER WILL NOT OFFSET HIS RECENT ERROR WITH AN ERROR IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. GROMYKO WILL RESPOND THAT THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE DISPLAYING AN EXTREME MODERATION AND BLAME THE IMPATIENCE OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS WHO, AFTER ALL, A

ARE NOT IN POWER. HE COULD MOREOVER ADD THAT THE U.S. HAS FOUGHT THE LEGALIST COMMUNISTS IN CHILE AND WOULD FIGHT THE 'DEMOCRATIC' COMMUNISTS IN ROME OR MADRID TOMORROW. BY WHAT RIGHT CAN THESE VARIOUS TACTICS BE IMPUTED TO THE KREMLIN? WHICH OF THEM DOES KISSINGER FEAR THE MOST? HERE WE ARE AT THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM OF TODAY AND OF TOMORROW. THE END OF THE POST-WAR ERA, COMMENTATORS SAY ON ALL SIDES. THE POST-WAR ERA AND THE COLD WAR, IN THE VAGUE SENSE OF THESE TERMS, HAVE LONG BEEN ENDED; THE FATE OF EASTERN EUROPE IS SEALED. WHAT IS NOW BECOMING THE HISTORIC STAKE IN THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO EUROPE-IS THE FATE OF WESTERN EUROPE. THE BREZHNEV CREW IS TOO CAUTIOUS TO LAUNCH INTO ADVENTURES' BUT IT COUNTS ON SOVIET MILITARY POWER, ON THE COWARDICE OF THE 'BOURGEOIS', ON A PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF THE U.S., FOR ATTAINING ITS NEXT OBJECTIVE: A SORT OF PROTECTORATE OVER WESTERN EUROPE, A RIGHT OF OVERSIGHT ON THE ACTION ABROAD, THE DEFENSE AND EVEN THE PRESS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

L2. AS THINGS ARE EVOLVING' IT IS NOT THE SOVIET UNION WHICH TRADE, OR A WEAPON OF PEACE, WILL CONVERT TO FREEDOM; IT IS WESTERN EUROPE WHICH DELIBERATELY WILL FALL UNCLASSIFIED

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INTO STEP. WHEN MORE THAN 20 DIVISIONS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY DEALT THE SAIGON REPUBLIC THE FINISHING BLOW, A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE PRESS OF THE WEST DELIBERATELY ADOPTED THE LANGUAGE OF LIE BY BLINDNESS, IDEOLOGY OR ANTICIPATED SURRENDER: THE DIVISIONS OF THE HANOI ARMY BECAME 'REVOLUTIONARY FORCES'. THERE REMAINS BUT ONE STEP TO MAKE TO GIVE THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO ITS REAL NAME: CAMPS FOR RE-EDUCATION THROUGH WORK." GAMMON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, SUMMIT MEETINGS, PERSONAL OPINIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PARIS20390
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750271-1196
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197508102/baaaatxm.tel
Line Count: 211
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ellisoob
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 FEB 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 FEB 2003 by ReddocGW>; APPROVED <21 JAN 2004 by ellisoob>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, FR, CSCE, (ARON, RAYMOND)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006